IN THE UN AND THE U.S.

Great debate is on: a world at peace, or a drive to war?

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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By Kumar Goshal

WHILE A JITTERY WORLD pondered the possible consequences of the failure of the Paris Summit meeting, the UN Security Council met on May 23 to take up the Soviet complaint against U.S. violation of Soviet air space.

With an unusually large number of diplomats jamming the Security Council chamber (there were few seats for the public), Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko accused the U.S. of sending a U-2 espionage plane deep into Russia to sabotage the Summit conference. He noted that "this is far from being the first and only case of the U.S. dispatching its military aircraft over the Soviet border."

Gromyko said that Moscow for some time "allowed for the possibility" that innumerable "provocative" flights from far-flung U.S. bases into Soviet territory were "the Pentagon's handiwork," of which "at any rate the U.S. President" was unaware. The Soviet Union, he said, had often protested such flights. But Washington's reply to Moscow's note of protest against the May espionage flight "finally exposed . . . the policy of the U.S. government and of the President personally as to these actions with regard to the Soviet Union."

ARE THEY NECESSARY? The Soviet Foreign Minister said that his government nevertheless had made precise preparations for the Summit meeting and done "everything to provide the U.S. President with an opportunity" to disavow and condemn the flights and thereby "make the holding of the Summit conference possible." But Eisenhower insisted instead that such flights were "allegedly necessary for the security of the U.S." The President even suggested, Gromyko said, that such flights be sponsored by the UN on a broader basis, thereby relegating the UN "to the humiliating role of a collector of intelligence for the Pentagon."

Gromyko asked the Security Council to approve a resolution which would consider such flights as "aggressive acts" threatening "universal peace" and would request the U.S. government "to take steps forthwith to put an end to such actions and prevent their recurrence."

"SURPRISE ATTACKS": U. S. chief delegate Henry Cabot Lodge categorically denied that the flights had "any aggressive intent," said they were necessary to prevent "surprise attacks" by a Soviet Union prone to military "secrecy." Most observers considered Lodge's rebuttal rather lame. Four Security Council members—Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador and Tunisia—offered a compromise resolution, which appealed to all member nations "to refrain from any action which

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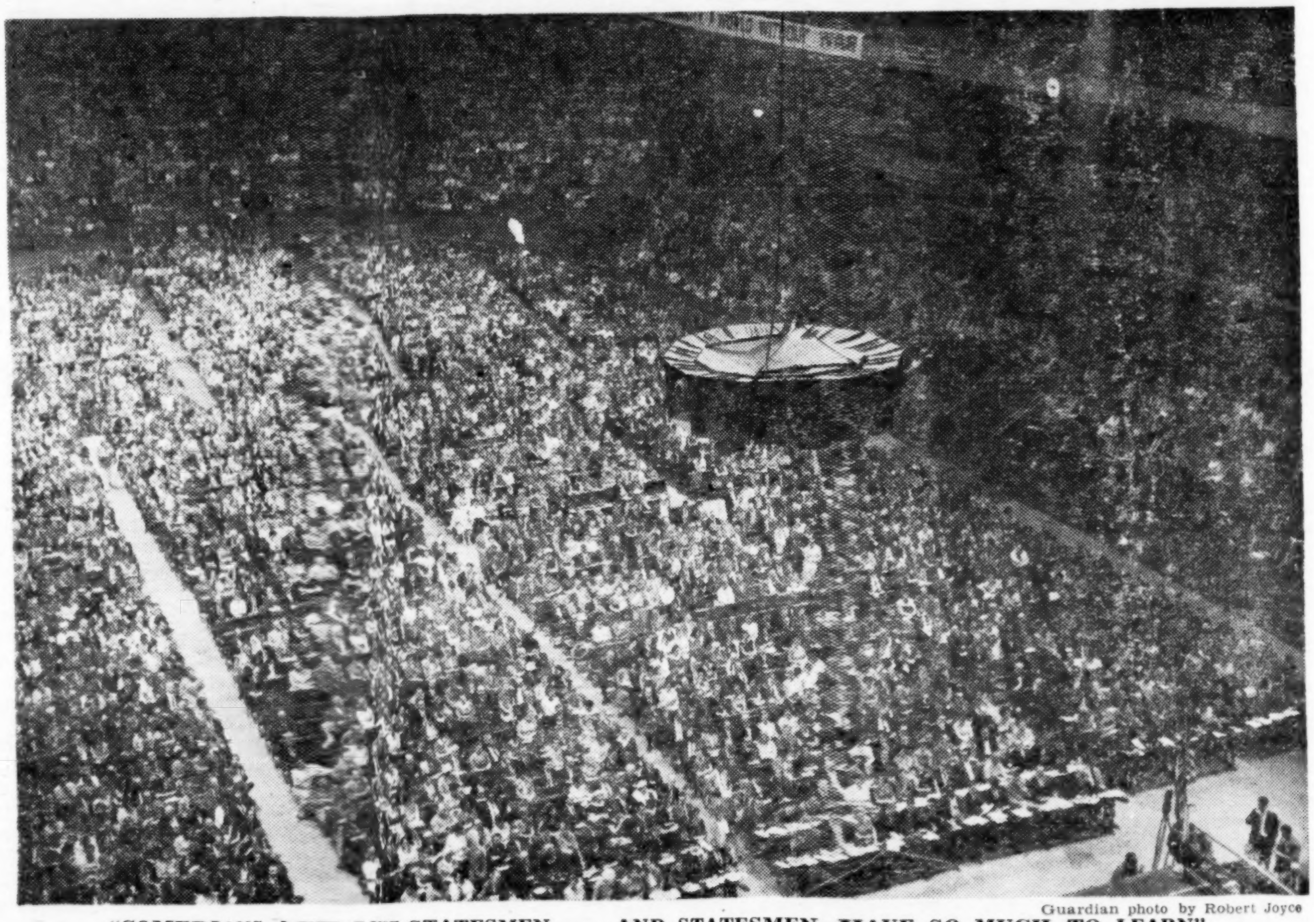

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

"COMEDIANS ACT LIKE STATESMEN . . . AND STATESMEN HAVE SO MUCH TO LEARN"
They booed Eisenhower and cheered appeals for an end to bomb tests, disarmament and lasting peace.

NEARLY 20,000 AT SANE MEETING IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Biggest peace rally in decade in New York

By Robert E. Light

AT UNITED NATIONS Plaza at 1 a.m. on May 20, standing in front of a wall inscribed with the Biblical anticipation of a time when men "shall beat their swords into plowshares," Norman Thomas led 5,000 persons in a three-minute prayer for "peace and brotherhood all over the world." Thus ended the largest peace demonstration in New York in more than a decade.

It began at a rally of almost 20,000 people called by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy at Madison Square Garden. Shortly before midnight, when the speeches, entertainment and collection were over, Thomas, Walter Reuther, Harry Belafonte and Rabbi Israel Goldstein led a march down Broadway to 42nd Street and then east to the United Nations.

Broadway pedestrians looked on in interest but the sound and the fury were aimed at world leaders. The message was clear: Despite the failure at Paris, negotiations at Geneva must continue to a successful conclusion for cessation of nuclear tests and disarmament.

COMMON DENOMINATOR: That this program was the logical consequence of varied approaches was shown by the political spectrum of the speakers' stand. It was a common denominator for all from Alf Landon to Eleanor Roosevelt. Most of the audience, perhaps, would have accepted a partisan denunciation of the Administration and the Pentagon. But the speakers were restrained in criticism of both Eisenhower and Khrushchev for emphasis on positive action.

The audience also reflected varying views. Some pacifists shouted to the platform for "unilateral disarmament." Others circulated "Draft Stevenson" petitions. Many were familiar with Garden trappings from Progressive Party and ALP rallies.

If the speakers blunted their swords, the entertainers made devastating thrusts at Eisenhower and the military. Orson Bean, Tom Poston and Mike Nichols and Elaine May revitalized satiric comedy, sent un-

(Continued on Page 6)

NEW 'YANKS GO HOME' MOVEMENT BUILDING UP

British press blames K, but 'man in the pub' differs

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WITH A UNANIMITY unmatched in recent cold-war years, and with Laborite outdoing Tory papers in violent verbiage, the British daily press jumped on Mr. K as the wrecker of the Summit. The exertion of all possible pressures on Fleet Street's moguls was clearly evident, for there has seldom been so wide a divergence between the press and the views of the "man in the pub." All available sources confirm that ordinary working joes here, while criticizing Mr. K's demand that Ike "publicly apologize" for the U-2 incident, place the wrecking of the conference primarily at America's door.

The British public can be very obstinate especially when they feel "the Yanks" throwing their weight around; and the frenzied efforts to whitewash the U.S. in this instance look like a boomerang. In a classic example of how not to win British friends, the recently-launched weekly **London American** tells us that Mr. K has shown "the fangs of the Bear;" "the appeasers have looked into the abyss;" "redoubled strength" and a "world-wide alert" are now the West's "greatest hope for peace;" and "the policies of John Foster Dulles have been proved right again." Having invoked the spirit of the most universally disliked American of modern times, the paper should not be surprised to find a "new 'Yanks Go Home' movement . . . getting wider and louder support" in "hoodwinked" Britain.

A LITTLE LIGHT: While editorially offering but a mild rebuke to Ike (only the Liberal **News Chronicle** could actually bring itself to praise him) the extreme right-wing **Daily Telegraph** let some light into its news columns. It ran a long excerpt from Walter Lippmann's critique, pointing out that the U.S. "locked the

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THE MAIL BAG

One fine day

DOMINGUEZ, CALIF.

Mr. K has had his say,
Some a whole lot more.
This I say: One fine day
U-2 can start a war.

Alice Conner

64,000-ft question

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Now when Niki greets Ike
With a warm "How do you do"
Will Ike respond
With a hot "U-2?"

L.G.

Help wanted

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

A small group here in Santa Rosa has been exploring the idea of forming some sort of an organization to seek ways and means of finding alternatives to the cold war and the hazards inherent in its continuance.

We are all readers of the so-called liberal press (**Nation**, GUARDIAN, **New Republic**, **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists**, etc.) and we find no hint of alternatives, no party or plan to engage our energies, and we are feeling a great frustration.

We have, in this area, probably the largest number of informed liberals of any similar area anywhere and we feel that it is time we were doing something constructive to inform our neighbors and ourselves as to what is transpiring in the world and relate such information to ourselves.

We are unanimous in believing that social ownership of the means of production and distribution is the only possible solution to the economic and social ills besetting our land.

The thought we had in mind was the forming of an educational organization for the purpose of exploring, studying and presenting socialism as an alternative to the incoherent proposals of the old parties.

We recognize that such an organization should be based on a minimal unanimity and a restricted program and knowing that efforts have been unsuccessful on a large scale in this direction we are seeking advice and suggestions.

We are sure that our frustrations are shared by most of the liberal thinking people of this country and Canada and it is time to inaugurate some program that will permit us to use our talents to some definite purpose.

We will appreciate any help anyone might be able to offer.

Carl Sullivan,
549 Joan Way

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Failure of the summit conference was a "blessing in disguise" for it will serve "to keep us on our toes," Assistant Secretary of the Army Dewey Short said here last night.

"It is serious, of course," the official said. "You can't laugh it off. But we are a people who tend to become complacent. And a thing like this tends to keep us alert."

—San Francisco **Chronicle**, May 20

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. K., Berkeley, Calif.

Burning the wires

NEW YORK, N.Y.

(Telegram sent May 15 to Mayor George Christopher of San Francisco.)

ON BEHALF OF BELIEVERS IN CIVIL LIBERTIES THROUGHOUT AMERICA, I AM PROTESTING TO YOU AGAINST VICIOUS CONDUCT OF SAN FRANCISCO POLICE ON FRIDAY, MAY 13, IN BREAKING UP LEGITIMATE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE. IN NEW YORK POST MAY 15 CORRESPONDENT MEL WAX REPORTS FROM YOUR CITY, "NEVER IN 20 YEARS AS A REPORTER HAVE I SEEN SUCH BRUTALITY." THE POLICEMEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS VIOLENCE SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL AND NOT THE STUDENTS WHO WERE EXERCISING RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY UNDER THE BILL OF RIGHTS. YOUR ADMINISTRATION AS OF TODAY STANDS CONVICTED OF COOPERATING WITH UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE IN SUPPRESSING THE FREEDOM OF THE AMERCAN PEOPLE.

Corliss Lamont, Vice-Chairman, ECLC, 427 Seventh Ave.

Defend the students

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Many students from the San Francisco area were arrested during a riot on May 13, precipitated by the San Francisco appearance of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. After waiting many hours in line, the students were incensed by the Committee's attempt to "stack" the hearing room with spectators friendly to the Committee. Their attempts to protest peacefully were met by policemen with fire hoses. In the resulting riot 63 students were arrested.

Funds are urgently needed for their defense. Checks should be sent to:

Students for Civil Liberties—
Defense Fund,
c/o Professor Edward W. Barankin, honorary treasurer,
20 Highland Boulevard,
Berkeley 7, California.

Frederic D. Grab

Figures of speech

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Our two political parties are as two dinosaurs: both big, little brains, and hides hard to penetrate.

A Danish proverb says: "It is a fast life to be half crazy." Uncle Sam has found that out.

R. E. Boe

Roosevelt's speech

PINECLIFFE, COLO.

James Roosevelt's speech I think should be printed in leaflet form arousing the people to the necessity to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee.

Elizabeth W. Miller

Rep. Roosevelt has Congressional reprints which may be obtained by writing to him at House of Representatives, Wash., D.C.—Ed.

Vie Nuove, Rome

"More juvenile delinquency!"

Pete Seeger on tour

EL CAJON, CALIF.

Pete Seeger came to San Diego!

Here was a golden opportunity for the cretins that go to make up the local post of our very own Stahlhelm. The committee that conducts the un-American activities for Congress had passed us up and was carrying on in San Francisco. Any excuse to whoop up the cold war was welcome. So—the old reliable hokum was dragged out. Seeger must sign a loyalty oath if he wished to use a school auditorium. A last minute hue and cry—we had known for a month that he was coming—is always good strategy.

Fortunately for all of us, ticket buyers as well as simply the rather old-fashioned characters who feel that the U.S.A. is not ready—yet, that is—for Hitler's methods, Seeger had the guts to refuse. For some reason unknown to us the elected authorities didn't cancel and Seeger sang.

And what an evening for those of us who had never heard him before! Naturally, from the viewpoint of the saviors of the cold war, a selection from Japan opposing another atomic bomb and songs for peace are not exactly the sort of thing to make them happy.

Cannot everyone see what a disaster it would be if peace broke out? Particularly in San Diego.

Robert Karger

Friend Mollie

ENCINO, CALIF.

I feel as though I am speaking to an old friend when I write to you. A most comfortable feeling!

I'm enclosing my renewal for a year and will now start digging up some new ones. I have high hopes of enlightening some of the unaware gals in my neighborhood—so I can have a two-sided discussion instead of talking to myself.

I look forward to your paper, and have bought some delightful things through the Buying Service.

Mollie Hyman

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

COMMON CAUSE, INC. is a high-hat brigade formed to "combat communism." Backed by Herbert Hoover and Msgr. Robert I. Gannon, president of Fordham University and a sponsor of Louis Budenz, the organization is, among other things, part of the pro-Nazi bloc in the U.S. Last week it held a "Hold Berlin" rally in New York's Town Hall, with Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former U.S. Military Governor in Germany, as main speaker.

The rally was a flop. Pickets mobilized by the American Jewish Labor Council outnumbered the audience nearly 10 to 1. Organizer of the affair, Hearst anti-labor columnist Victor Riesel, didn't even show up. Gen. Clay failed to make his prepared speech. About 200 in the audience responded to a call, "Decent Americans, let's get out of this place," as the general was introduced. He ducked a question about his reduction to four years of the life sentence for Ilse Koch, "Bitch of Buchenwald," who made lampshades from the skin of her victims.

Outside, the pickets numbered up to 5,000, according to one estimate. One hundred and fifty cops, mounted and on foot, charged them repeatedly. Old-timers could not remember when the police had been more savage. It was impossible to list the number of persons clubbed, beaten, mauled. But the pickets reformed their ranks as often as they were broken, ranged up and down nearby Sixth Ave., and made a final show of strength in Times Square before they voluntarily dispersed.

Said the American Jewish Labor Council: "Any other pro-Nazi meeting will receive similar demonstrations from outraged New Yorkers." **—From the National Guardian, May 31, 1950.**

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Job looking for man

THE REPUDIATION of the Summit Conference by the Soviet Union on grounds of obvious bad faith has dropped suddenly and squarely into the laps of thinking Americans the vital necessity of insuring as far as possible the selection of a national leadership which will honestly pursue the quest for peace and turn the nation once and for all away from reliance on a militarist economy.

Overnight, the possibility that the responsibilities of leadership might fall upon either a Nixon or a Kennedy has taken on the aspects of a nightmare. Yet by default—default not alone of men like Stevenson and Stassen as by forces in both parties which might have strengthened such figures in insistence on integrity in international relations—our national political machinery has been allowed to steamroll along a course which would prevent the American people from expressing its determination for peace.

The GUARDIAN, to the best of its ability in our years on the political scene, has advocated a strong independent third party as the best leverage on the old parties to produce programs and candidates reflecting the people's real concerns. Lacking such an instrument, the people can exert leverage on national policy only through the existing political machinery.

THE CRISIS resulting from the collapse of the Summit Conference—a collapse clearly engineered by an administration which hoped to keep its design covered up but could not—has now produced conditions making possible the forcing of the peace issue on a reluctant Democratic Party.

While the Johnson-Rayburn Democratic leadership in Congress called for a policy of "unity" behind the President in his hour of tribulation (and arraignment before the UN Security Council), the Democratic Advisory Council, which includes Stevenson, Humphrey and Truman but not Johnson and Rayburn, entered a cautious but general demurrer. Stevenson's own stand has already gone well beyond the Advisory Council's. His telegram to the overflow Madison Square Garden meeting of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee (see Page 1) indicated full support for a nuclear test ban and moratorium on underground tests, and for sincere pursuit of disarmament negotiations. Yet his contradictory stand for "defense" spending is difficult to distinguish from the militarist position.

IN HIS '52 CAMPAIGN, Stevenson spoke of the problem of trying to haul his opponents "kicking and screaming into the 20th Century." The task of hauling Adlai Stevenson into a stance which can fire the imagination and enthusiasm of the American voter is an equally difficult one.

Setting the pace for who if not Stevenson in the mobilization of a challenge to the war policy of the Democratic machine is financier James P. Warburg. In a letter to the New York **Times** May 20, Warburg posed a series of questions such as these:

"Who obstructed the test-ban negotiations with a series of technical objections. . .?

"Who, behind the scenes, fought the State Department's effort to put the U.S. squarely on record as favoring universal disarmament under adequately enforced world law. . .?

"Who ordered the May Day flight of the U-2?"

As for "unity" behind the President in the face of such unanswered questions, Warburg asked: "Unity for what? For allowing intrigue, indecision and incompetence to drive us ever nearer to an insane war?"

FOLLOWING PUBLICATION of Warburg's **Times** letter but actually planned prior to the Summit collapse was the announcement May 23 of an organization called The Liberal Project, along with a statement by Warburg calling for changes in foreign policy to include recognition of China and disengagement in Europe to permit unification of Germany "without outside interference . . ."

A dozen Congressmen and some 40 scholars, scientists and foreign policy experts are associated with Warburg in **The Liberal Project**, although none was asked to concur in Warburg's statement accompanying announcement of its formation. The Congressmen include Roosevelt, Kasem and Miller, Calif.; Porter, Ore.; Thompson, N.J.; Johnson, Colo.; Wolf, Iowa; Moorhead, Pa.; O'Hara, Mich.; Reuss and Kastenmeier, Wis.; and Meyer, Vt. Public figures include Vera M. Dean, David Reisman, Thurman Arnold, Fred Rodell, Harold Taylor and John Hope Franklin.

Information on The Liberal Project may be obtained through Warburg's office, 34 E. 70th St., N.Y.C. **—THE GUARDIAN**

HOW MOSCOW REACTED TO THE U-2

The ten days that shook the Summit

The following dispatch was written by the GUARDIAN's Moscow correspondent on the eve of Premier Khrushchev's departure for Paris. It throws considerable light on what Khrushchev meant by his reference in his statement at the abortive Summit meeting to "internal" considerations in the Soviet Union as they affect foreign policy—considerations which undoubtedly motivated his uncompromising insistence on an apology from President Eisenhower.

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

IT WAS A FANTASTIC ten days here between Khrushchev's first announcement about the spy plane on May 5 and his departure for Paris on May 14. Can anyone in the White House ever realize what damage has been done to American prestige here? To American credibility, to official ethics, morals and the rest? Or was this what was wanted? Was it desired to slap down hard the fast-growing sentiment that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. could after all get along together?

Despite all the sound and fury of the cold war, the U.S. and Americans are popular here—or were until a few days ago. I don't think any American visitor has ever gone away with a feeling to the contrary. I have reported on this a number of times. And this is by no means true for all countries—West Germany for instance. President Eisenhower, as Western military chief of the Grand Anti-Fascist Alliance (as the World War II alliance is usually referred to here), and as a Roosevelt choice, has always been popular here. His prestige has stood high.

He was regarded as a man of peace who has tried to cool the tempers of the Pentagon's lunatic fringe. His popularity reached its peak during the friendly portrayal here of his meetings with Khrushchev last summer and the hopeful tone of the joint communique. President Eisenhower—as distinct from Adenauer and some others—has never been the subject of a hostile cartoon. When the spy plane provocation was exposed, Khrushchev was careful to leave the President out of it. Until the White House dragged him in and the President himself insisted on taking the center of the stage.

SWIFT CHANGE: The mood of the people here has moved from almost stunned consternation at first, through a sort of hurt reproachfulness down to outright, blazing anger as they file past the very substantial remains of the U-2 plane on exhibition in Moscow's Gorky Park. America's name is deep in the mud here at the moment.

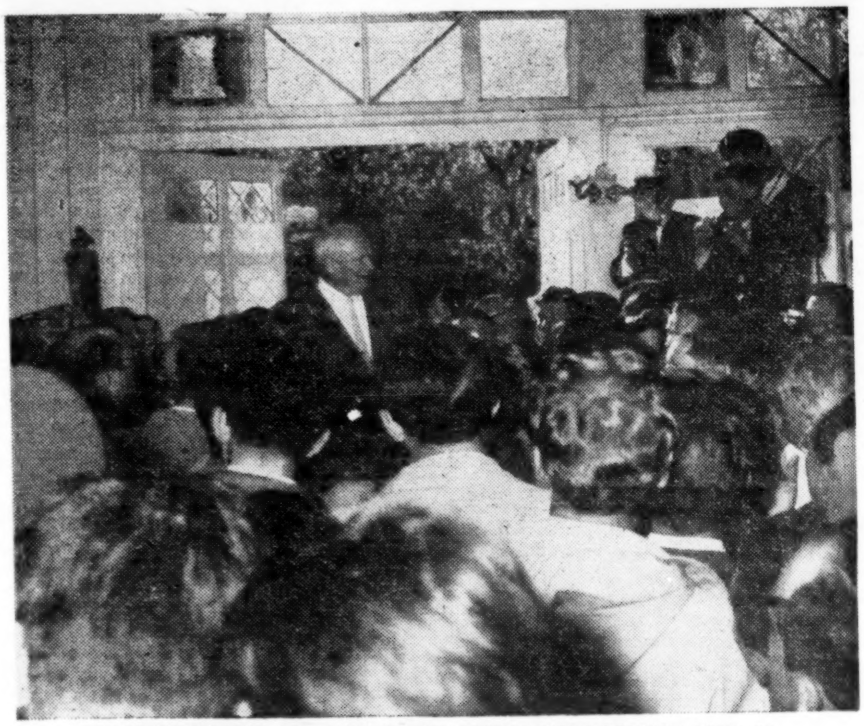
Millions of Russians will see that plane. They will file past it all through the summer and all through the autumn as well. Moscow's five millions will all see it and so will most of the ever-changing 800,000 provincials who can be found in the capital on any given day.

It would be good if those U.S. Senators who are deluding themselves that the plane was not hit by a rocket—with all the implications—could see the remains. The Senators evidently do not want the American public or America's allies to believe that the Russians have rockets that can bring down planes at 68,000 feet. The implication is that H-bombers can get through to the sort of targets that Powers was photographing, but why people should believe it is more difficult for the Russians to guide a rocket to a plane at 68,000 feet than to the moon at a quarter of a million miles, I do not know.

There are deep jagged holes in the engine up to an inch in diameter, and similar ones in instrument casings. Fuselage and wings are peppered with jagged holes, the edges puckering outwards from shrapnel which could only have come from an internal explosion. It is thought the rocket hit inside the right intake of the single jet engine and fragments spattered out in all directions. In an interview with the newspaper **Red Star**, Powers said he thought his engine had exploded—which is about what he would think if a rocket hit it. By the excellent shape of the wings and instruments, it seems the plane must have spiralled down to earth fairly intact until the moment of impact. Since it was near Sverdlovsk—the industrial heart of the Urals—Powers was doubtlessly busy with his photographing and recording instruments and would have been switched over to the automatic pilot. With its long, glider-like wings the U-2 could have glided down quite nicely, long after Powers had bailed out.

THE REACTION: What makes the Russians angry in that exhibition are the enlarged prints from the film the Russians developed from his cameras: airfields with Soviet fighter planes neatly ranged along the strips; oil depots; industrial plants. "They claim their espionage is to guard against surprise attacks," snorted one young army officer beside me. "This is preparation to **launch** surprise attacks." And it is not hard to persuade people that recording signals from Soviet radar stations and other anti-aircraft signaling stations is also preparation not against but for surprise attacks.

Khrushchev has been careful to play this aspect down. It is "probing," he said, not "war preparations." Because he still wants to salvage something from the "Camp David spirit" and not muddy the atmosphere any more for the summit. But the people filing past those photographs draw their own conclusions. And I can assure you they are having a new, hard look towards the United States.



KHRUSHCHEV AT A MOSCOW PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 11
"You see yourself what difficulties have arisen . . ."

Standing on a wicker chair, in the midst of the shrapnel-pocked remnants of the U-2 plane, Khrushchev in his impromptu press conference on May 11 defined with great fairness his own position. He made no secret that he was hurt by the implication of President Eisenhower in the spy affair. There was a feeling of personal let-down. But despite Secy. of State Herter's various statements, it was clear that Khrushchev has a lurking suspicion that the May 1 flight was a provocation cooked up by CIA director Allen Dulles and for which an "expendable" President was forced to take the rap.

ON THE VISIT: Asked if he now wanted President Eisenhower to come to Russia, Khrushchev was silent for almost half a minute: "You see yourselves what difficulties have arisen," he said. "I speak to you frankly. You know my relations with the U.S. President. I have often spoken about it. But my hopes were not justified. I am a human being, I have human feelings, but I am the responsible head of the Soviet government. You know the Russian, Soviet people. Open-hearted —they like to take things as they come. How can I now appeal to our people? Can I say to them: Go out to welcome —a dear friend is coming to us? People will say, You are crazy. What sort of a dear guest is it that sends us espionage planes . . . Frankly speaking, I think the President himself will understand this . . ." To another question as to whether the Eisenhower visit should not be postponed, Khrushchev replied:

"We will exchange opinions with the President when we meet in Paris. Above all we want to explore means for improving our relations with the U.S.A. We want to have normal relations with the U.S.A. and we believe that in time, Soviet-American relations will grow into friendly relations between the peoples of our country. This would be only normal and all normal people are striving and will continue to strive for this." Khrushchev then appealed to all journalists present to refrain from writing anything that could worsen the situation and noted that all sorts of people in the U.S. itself, from Senators down, condemned the spy plane incident.

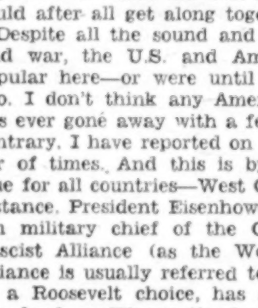
In other words, once having exposed the whole business, Khrushchev has done his best to play down some of its more serious implications in order not to play into the hands of those whom he still believes are the real culprits—those Pentagon forces who wanted to blow up the Summit.

WOUNDS GO DEEP: All this is very well, but the wounds inflicted on Soviet-American relations are going to take a long time to heal, unless something quite drastic is done to root out those responsible. The man-in-the-street here is aghast at the extent of admitted lying in high places. He could hardly believe his eyes, in reading the various Herter statements, that the U.S. government would actually proclaim espionage and aggression—under any definition of international law—as government policy, and openly admit lying at the highest level. People are still rubbing their eyes in astonishment at all this. It is all a degree of cynicism for which even the history books have not prepared them.

With all the excitement of the spy plane, Eisenhower's announcement of renewed underground nuclear tests has gone relatively unnoticed, for the moment. But after the weather-plane fable, who expects any Soviet citizen to believe the statements that the renewed tests are "not for developing new weapons" but only to improve detection methods? It is not only Soviet citizens, but every Western diplomat here with whom I have spoken, who are completely bewildered by the extent and level of the lying; and the cool arrogance of the admission of espionage and the threats that spy flights will continue. After all, the diplomats of America's Western allies rub shoulders with Khrushchev several times a week. What can they say when asked pointblank if they approve of their senior allies' policies; if they are informed of what goes on from American bases on their territory?

Well, the ten days that shook the Summit are past. By the time this is published, the effect of those ten days on the Summit will be clear to everyone. One thing is certain. If nothing comes of the Summit talks on which Khrushchev has staked so much, there is not a single Soviet citizen who will reproach him for the failure. Now, more clearly than ever before, they will know where to put the blame.

JUNE is the month that counts BIG



in the Guardian's Prize Sub Contest!

A FIELD OF MORE THAN 200 CONTESTANTS are grouped behind a handful of leaders as we reach the halfway mark in the GUARDIAN'S Big Spring Subscription Sweepstakes. With just 32 days to go from the date of this issue, the Grand Prize—the Free Trip to Cuba on the Guardian's two-week July-August Tour—is still within anyone's grasp. And there are dozens of other choice prizes, too—a famous Kolibri portable typewriter, Yashica 8mm motion picture camera, a transistor radio, binoculars and $25 worth of GBS merchandise. And remember—even if you roll up only ten points you win the album of your choice—from the GBS record catalog. As a contestant from La Puente, Calif., said with his latest letter, worth five points, "What the hell—either way I win." How do you figure it?

AND HERE'S A SECRET TIP to help you win: By buying pre-paid sub blank booklets you are immediately credited with the appropriate number of points, even though you don't send them in for months. For example, if you order ten prepaid $1 subs now, and enclose your check or money order for $10, you are credited with ten points—already enough to earn you the GBS record of your choice.

Don't Delay! Get in the Running Now!

For your Pre-Paid Sub Blanks Write

GUARDIAN CONTEST

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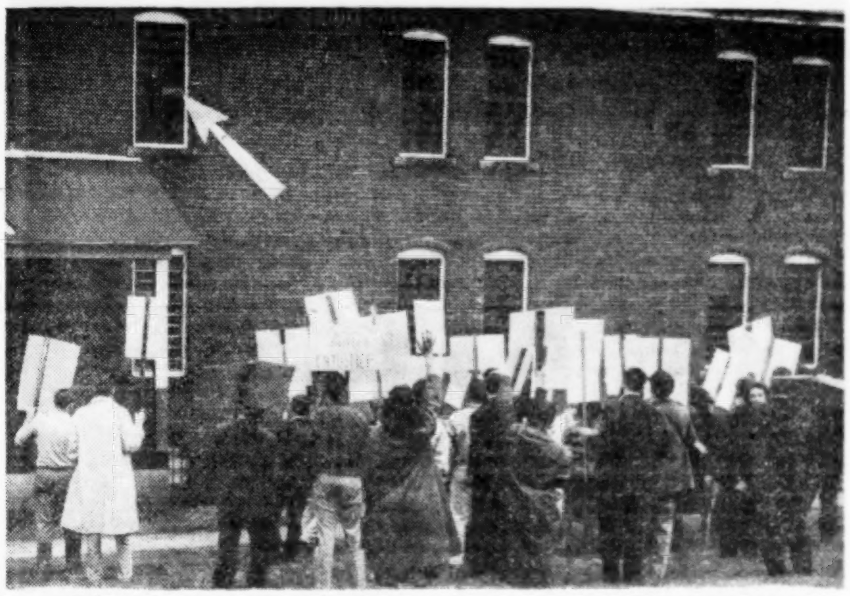

STUDENTS SING TO DR. UPHAUS FROM LAWN BEFORE THE JAIL
College demonstrators stand under window facing his cell (arrow)

ILLINOIS RELIGIOUS LEADERS ASK RELEASE

New England students parade in Concord for Uphaus' freedom

Special to the Guardian
CONCORD, N.H.

MORE THAN 125 STUDENTS from New England colleges demonstrated here in front of the New Hampshire State House May 14 in support of Willard Uphaus, jailed director of the World Fellowship Camp. The date marked the end of the fifth month of a one-year contempt of court sentence which Dr. Uphaus is serving for refusing to divulge his guest list to state authorities.

The students—from Dartmouth, U. of New Hampshire, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, Goddard, Yale Divinity School, Harvard, and Harvard Divinity School—marched up and down the main street with placards reading "New England Students March for Uphaus," "Stop the New Hampshire Inquisition," "Defend the Right of Conscience — Liberate Willard Uphaus," and others. After the demonstration, they organized a motorcade to the Merrimack County Jail where they sang to Dr. Uphaus from the jail lawn.

When the group approached the jail, Norman DiGiovanni, leader of the delegation and author of a recent article in **The Nation** entitled "The New Hampshire Inquisition," called to Dr. Uphaus that the students were there. Dr. Uphaus answered: "I'm standing firm." As the students cheered, he added: "You'll get me out. I'm not worried."

A few students were permitted to see and speak with the prisoner. He told them that the only fresh air he gets is on weekly trips across the road to see the doctor. Asked what could be done to get him "treated like a regular prisoner," he said letters should be sent to Merrimack County Commissioner Frank MacIntosh. He reminded the students that petitions addressed to Judge George R. Grant of the New Hampshire Superior Court are the most direct means to have him released.

Special to the Guardian
CHICAGO, ILL.

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN Illinois religious leaders—ministers, rabbis and professors at theological seminaries—have called for the release of Dr. Willard Uphaus. They endorsed a statement by the Rt. Rev. John Wesley Lord, Methodist Bishop of New England, addressed to Judge George B. Grant of the New Hampshire Superior Court. Bishop Lord's statement said: "Surely you are aware that a wave of revulsion is sweeping the nation at what has taken place in the state of New Hampshire. . . . The revulsion is due to what appears to many people to be a revival of McCarthyism — a revival for which few have prayed. . . . I plead with you to consider the good which may be accomplished by the termination of this sentence."

The endorsement stated: "As a group of workers in the field of religion in Illinois, we add our voices to that of Bishop Lord in urging the immediate release of Willard Uphaus."

EDITOR RESIGNS

Brooklyn students suspended 4 days in air raid protest

FIFTY-THREE STUDENTS at Brooklyn College were suspended for four days beginning May 17 for refusing to take shelter during a civil defense drill on May 3. "Students should be prepared to take the consequences of their action," president Harry D. Gideonse said.

During the drill more than 200 students sat on the steps of Boylan Hall in passive defiance. When they disregarded requests to seek shelter, a man from the dean's office went around taking names. To make sure their protests were recorded some wrote out their names and addresses for the dean's man.

Two days later the students whose names were taken received a letter from Dean Herbert Stroup indicating that their participation was noted. The letter added: "I am writing to inquire if you were present as a deliberate participant or a hapless bystander. . . . I am making this inquiry in preparation for possible disciplinary action. . . . May I ask that you provide me on or before May 11, 1960, with a written disavowal, if this is what you wish to do. Failure on your part to do so will be taken by me, as the College's disciplinary officer, to be tantamount to an admission of your deliberate complicity and violation of the requirements of the college."

BLACK TIE AFFAIR: To some students Stroup's letter was "an open incentive to lie." They called several rallies and when the suspensions were announced, 350 students came to school in black ties and ribbons.

In an open letter defending the suspensions, Gideonse said that "personal or group opinions as to the merits of civil defense requirements, nuclear policy and related matters are not at issue." Students must obey the law, he said. He also noted that persons who had defied the drill at City Hall Park were jailed for five days.

A debate on freedom of the press is another aftermath of the drill. Elliot Bender, photographer for the student paper, **Kingsman**, was suspended for taking pictures of the protesters during the drill. College officials said he should have been in a shelter. They banned publication of his photographs. In the space scheduled for Bender's pictures, Lucille Feldman announced her resignation as **Kingsman** editor in protest against "censorship." She said Stroup had told her that any student who did not like college policies "can go somewhere else."

GIDEONSE'S ARMY: The **Kingsman** staff signed an editorial calling the picture ban "a despicable attempt by the administration to strong-arm" the paper. The Student Executive Council unanimously objected to the school's action.

The CCNY Student Council passed a resolution protesting "the arrogant actions of the Brooklyn College administration." The Natl. Students Assn. appointed three college editors to investigate the matter.

Later the Brooklyn Student Council asked the NSA to drop the investigation. It said the matter could be "best handled by responsible internal negotiations without external interference."

In defense of Bender's supension, Gideonse said it "proves that all students were treated alike."

Editor Feldman said: "It is unfortunate that an administrator looks upon students as children. Aren't we all, both faculty and students, here as a community of scholars? Or is college a communtic training ground for social conformity in later life?"

Dissent, it seemed, is not in the manual of arms in Gideonse's army.

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NEW YORK

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In Alabama and the South—ministers persecuted for their part in the integration struggle
In New York & elsewhere—swastikas and the revival of Nazism
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A correction

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In my letter in the May 16 issue, about modern art, my address was incorrectly given as the Arkep Gallery, 171 W. 29th St., New York. It should have read: John McGhee Gallery, 228 E. 80th St., New York.

John McGhee

NEW YORK

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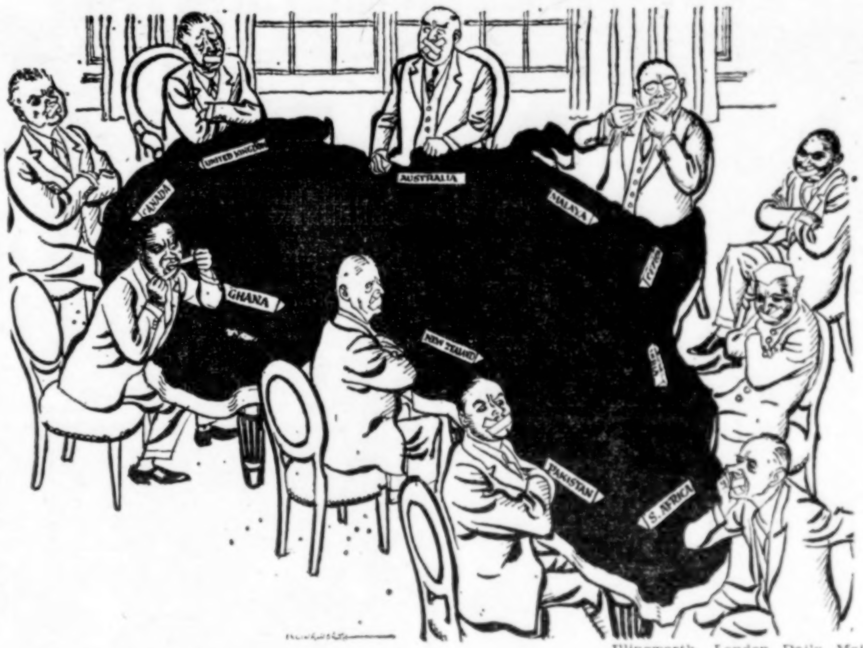
NON-WHITE MEMBERS DEMAND EQUALITY

S. Africa apartheid threatens survival of Commonwealth



Illingworth, London Daily Mail

Special to Guardian

LONDON

SIX WHITE MEN ruling 100,000,000 people sat down here this month with five colored men ruling 450,000,000, to discuss the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations (formerly trading as the British Empire). When they rose after two weeks, the question of whether it had any was still moot.

All of them except one—South African Foreign Minister Eric Louw, a Hitler admirer against whom cries of "Murderer!" were faintly heard from outside—agreed about one thing. "Winds of change" (in the phrase of the chairman, Prime Minister Macmillan) are blowing across the former colonial countries, and no ship can sail dead against them.

COMMONWEALTH HEADACHES: Commonwealth members belong to it for various advantages they see in it—economic, political, military, cultural—and because of common problems more easily tackled together than singly. Economically, the whole sterling area is threatened by the West German-dominated European Common Market. Militarily, the Soviet bull's-eye on Allen Dulles' spy-plane leaves them doubly embarrassed: naked in the nuclear rocket age while the arms race continues, they confront the fact that Pakistan, whence the plane took off, is both Commonwealth territory and a member of CENTO to which Britain also belongs. It is also generally assumed, for lack of government assurances to the contrary in reply to Parliamentary questions, that spy-planes take off from U.S. airfields in Britain itself.

The organization of the Commonwealth, with more and more liberated colored countries wanting to join, is an even bigger headache. The next countries coming up for membership are Nigeria, the West Indies, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, and Sierra Leone with a population of 2,000,000. Applications may be pending from Singapore (1,000,000), Cyprus and British Guiana (500,000 each) and Gambia (250,000).

Not only do the coloreds seem to be swamping the whites in the Commonwealth Conference, but if such midget "empire" outposts as Fiji, the Maldives, St. Helena and Pitcairn claim admission how can the equal-membership principle be preserved? In microcosm this is the same difficulty faced by the UN.

APARTHEID VS. EQUALITY: At the "Wind of Change" conference just concluded, all these matters were swept to the back of the stove by one nightmare word: "Apartheid." South Africa's super-jimcrow raised the question of the Commonwealth's very survival—and indeed of "the West's" survival against the Communist threat of racial equality. The question before the conference was whether the Commonwealth is based on any principles other than no-interference in other members' internal affairs. How can a multi-racial organization not interfere in a member country's practices amounting to genocide?

Efforts by the "white front" to keep this specter out of the talks were inevitably vain. Louw himself blew them up by calling a press conference to expound apartheid and insult the questioning newsmen, and by his arrogance toward both colored and white fellow-delegates. By implying to the press that other white delegates sympathized with apartheid, he forced even Canada's stuffed-shirt Diefenbaker and white supremacist Sir Roy Welensky of Central Africa to issue "Who, me?" denials.

The first openly bitter outburst against Louw came from Malaya's Tenku Abdul Rahman, who walked out of one of the "private" meetings with Louw to which Macmillan strove to confine the race issue. The second week of the conference, opening with dim hope that "unanimity till Friday" could be preserved by "Mac's magic," brought the biggest flare-up yet over the issuance of a statement on race policies. By that time it was clear that no magic could produce a statement to satisfy both Louw and the others. It also seemed clear that Ghana's Nkrumah and India's Nehru, who had been striving for "moderation," couldn't afford to leave without matching Rahman's blast against apartheid.

THE BOILING KETTLE: Nigeria's right-wing Prime Minister Sir A. T. Balewa, here for final conferences before independence in October, came out for "strong action" against racist members. Even "Aunty **Times**" saw that the schism couldn't be "healed with comfortable words," since the Commonwealth is multi-racial and "in the long run must rest on truth, not fiction." Malaya and Ghana favored a "Commonwealth Magna Carta" drafted by London's Movement for Colonial Freedom, which would "reaffirm acceptance of the Declaration of Human Rights."

Meanwhile London papers were reporting that nearly 20,000 were jailed under South Africa's "emergency laws," including a number of white couples with small children left alone. The **Times** insisted that "sitting on the lid of the kettle is hopeless," but the danger to obdurate white posteriors spread throughout Africa. With a gracious visit from the Queen Mother scheduled in a few days, the North Rhodesian copperbelt erupted in riots.

In Kenya, mounting demands for the release of African leader Jomo Kenyatta indicated another "state of emergency" in the offing. A row was brewing between Nkrumah and Welensky over South African refugees trying to reach Ghana but denied "the rights of Commonwealth citizens" to cross Central Africa. Welensky's government was declining to recognize Ghana-issued travel documents.

THE WARNING: When Louw left London, South Africa had achieved almost total isolation. Hope for "Mac's magic" had produced a communique which everyone signed, but which everyone knew was neither satisfactory to Louw nor to the colored governments. It "emphasized that the Commonwealth is multi-racial" and "expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member states and peoples."

Considering South Africa's desire to become a republic and remain in the Commonwealth, it said that South Africa must "ask the consent" of all other members, which it presumably wouldn't get. Louw left in an angry mood at this implied snub, the communique including as it did a warm acceptance of Ghana remaining in the Commonwealth as a republic. What the South African voters have been told in a polite way is that, if they vote for a republic in the forthcoming referendum, they will in fact be voting themselves out of the Commonwealth.

At the end of the conference, Rahman expressed his dissatisfaction with the communique for not even mentioning "the clamor about racial equality," and said he would "pursue it to the end—it has ceased to be an internal affair." Nkrumah told a public meeting chaired by the Queen's husband: "The warning has been written in blood for all to read. The Commonwealth . . . cannot exist as an effective association of nations, all dedicated to the same basic principles of life, if exceptions are made."

THE BOYCOTT: South African industrialists, seeing their ruin on the horizon, were vigorously lobbying their government for "a new deal for the black man." Declaring that Louw's intransigence at the conference had "decided me to speak out," Pres. A. J. F. Fergusson of the Johannesburg stock exchange foresaw "irreparable damage to the Union's economy if prevailing policies are continued." His statement followed the announcement that South African company stocks had dropped $1,400,000,000 in value in the first quarter of 1960.

This was seen here as underlining the importance of the world boycott movement against South Africa. With even George Meany in the act proposing that the U.S. stop buying South African gold, there was a possibility that the U.S.-dominated Intl. Confedn. of Trade Unions might weigh in with cash to compensate British workers for the effects of the boycott.

IS SELF-HELP THE ANSWER FOR SMALLER COUNTRIES?

Cuba and British Guiana explore mutual trade plan

Special to the Guardian

HAVANA

DR. CHEDDI JAGAN, chief minister of British Guiana, visited Cuba last month, the first official representative of Guiana ever to come here. While this fact in itself did not seem to be noteworthy, since both countries are small, the results of the visit are noteworthy indeed. Economic matters were paramount in the discussion between Dr. Jagan and Cuban leaders, and the conclusion was that trade between the two nations was highly promising.

GUIANA'S JAGAN (L.) WITH CUBAN OFFICIALS IN HAVANA
Their trade plan would by-pass high interest loans with strings

Cuba imports about $14,000,000 in timber annually. Guiana has a large timber reserve. The rice consumption in Cuba has increased tremendously with the rise in the standard of living, and Cuba is able to absorb all the rice surplus of Guiana. In addition to goods, Cuba can supply Guiana with technical experts to develop newsprint from bagasse (crushed sugar cane) which is plentiful there. The exchange—involved also are cattle, paper and other agricultural products—will help Cuba maintain its imports under control and to ease the dollar shortage. In the next months timber will be sorely needed for the 700 new towns planned in the cooperative sugar cane plantations.

WIDE EFFECT: To many observers it comes as a surprise that such auspicious prospects for trade can be projected between two countries with a total population of less than 8,000,000. But of even greater significance is the effect of the talks on other under-developed countries which will convene at an economic conference later this year in Havana. The Jagan talks support the official Cuban point of view that in certain circumstances it is possible for under-developed countries to implement economic programs without depending on foreign aid and financing.

At least, it is asserted in Havana, such countries should explore all possibilities of trade in basic products among themselves before burdening their countries with loans at high interest rates, and often with strings attached which make impossible diversification of industry and a rise in the standard of living.

No doubt that is why Washington and other Western capitals have been trying to pour cold water on the conference.

All photos on this page by Robert Joyce

On the way from Madison Square Garden to UN, signs explain the march.

At the UN people waited while a delegation presented a petition to Hammarskjold.

N. Y. peace rally

(Continued from Page 1)

derground by the witch hunt.

Bean was introduced as a distant relative of Calvin Coolidge from Vermont. Looking over his shoulder at Landon, Bean said that in 1936 all the people in his town thought Landon had been elected President. "And for the next four years they thought he was doing a swell job."

WRONG BUTTON: Bean also spoke of the current world crisis which started when a "poor boob sent an airplane up and culminated when Mr. Khrushchev gave the world 24 hours to get out."

Poston impersonated a general who had just "pushed the wrong button" sending an ICBM with a nuclear warhead to New York City, calling Mayor Wagner to break the news. He began: "Hello, Mayor Wagner, you don't know me. I'm down here in Cape Canaveral. I'm in rocketry. Now don't be a baby about this, but . . ."

Later the general told Wagner not to worry because "we nave two of the best German scientists working on it. Yes, Mayor, German . . . I know they started World War II, but aren't they sorry?"

The conversation concluded with the general telling Wagner that the Russians had just captured Eisenhower and "we're going to deny he is from this country."

Nichols and May did a skit about a couple discussing the U-2 incident and the Khrushchev press conference.

He: The Russians want Eisenhower to apologize for sending the plane over.

She: I think it's unfair to ask the President to apologize. He didn't even know about it.

He: Eisenhower shouldn't have to apologize if he isn't sorry. But somehow I wish I could apologize.

The last line brought down the house.

Harry Belafonte and his chorus performed for 20 minutes but he did not speak. The Limelighters, a folk-singing trio, presented three numbers. In introducing one, Lou Gottlieb referred to our cultural exchange program where the Russians sent us the Moiseyev Dancers and the Bolshoi Ballet and we reciprocated with such "headliners as Dick Contino, Dick Nixon and Francis G. Powers."

HOPE AND PRAYER: Clarence Pickett, secy. emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee and Sane co-chairman, opened the meeting and turned it over to the evening's co-chairmen Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College. Taylor drew some boos when he said: "Let us be proud that Mr. Eisenhower kept his temper in Paris." There were no further references to the President by the speakers.

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, honorary president of the World Jewish Congress, said it was the hope and prayer of people throughout the world that the Geneva disarmament conferences continue. He added that agreement on cessation of nuclear tests could set off "a chain reaction for world peace."

Norman Cousins, editor of the **Saturday Review** and Sane co-chairman, said it was up to the people of the world to "see that the failure at Paris does not become tragedy." He called for an end to the arms race and steps to "make a true shelter of the United Nations." Half of what we spend on arms, he said, channeled through the UN, could build 250,000,000 "pre-fab" houses in Asia and Africa.

Taylor read telegrams of support from Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey and Jacob K. Javits and Adlai Stevenson. The mention of Stevenson's name drew some of the loudest applause of the evening.

FOR WAR ON POVERTY: United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther proposed that the United States challenge the Soviet Union to compete in a war against poverty, hunger and ignorance.

He proposed that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. contribute a fixed percentage of their Gross National Products to the UN. "If we can have full employment and full production for war," he asked, "why can't we have full employment and production for peace?"

Myra Jehlen, a 20-year-old college student who was on the Aldermaston peace march in England, spoke of the growing participation of youth in peace activities.

ONE WAY OUT: Alf M. Landon, once a symbol of conservatism, called for "a complete re-examination of our international and foreign policies." He added: "There is no way out for civilization except to seek and agree upon a realistic nuclear policy relationship between nations by definite treaties controlling atomic tests and the employment of nuclear energy as a blessing instead of a curse to mankind." But, he said, the "free world" must not weaken its defenses until a treaty is signed.

He called for another Summit meeting "in the near future."

UPSIDE DOWN: Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, referring to the entertainers who had preceded him, began: "What an upside down world this is when comedians act like statesmen and statesmen have so much to learn."

He proposed a peace program calling for (1) world law; (2) development of "viable and stable economies" throughout the world; (3) relief of world tensions; (4) domestic programs and institutions for peace, including a "National Peace Agency"; and (5) disarmament.

Williams also attacked the theory of "peace through mutual terror."

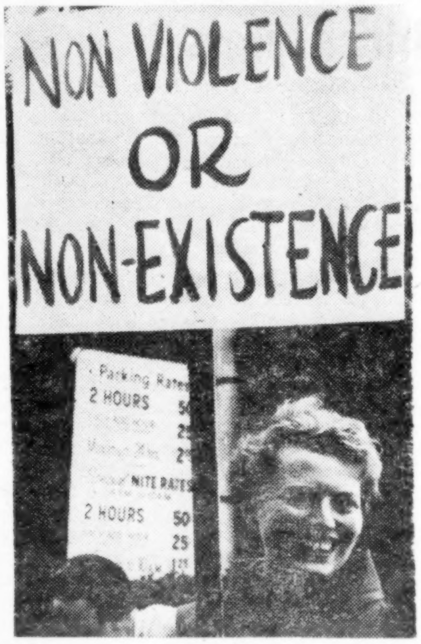
ACTION PROGRAM: It fell to Norman Thomas to formulate an action program.

(Continued on Page 7)

Norman Thomas and Harry Belafonte spoke briefly. Thomas led a prayer for "peace and brotherhood."

Youth and vigor on the line of march.

In San Francisco they also looked toward a test ban and lasting peace.



Photos (above and l.) by Douglas Wachter

Other signs read: "H-Bomb War Is The Last War" and, on a carriage, "Don't Baby Me, Let Me Live."

SAN FRANCISCO MARCH

3,000 blueprint peace at 'Little Summit' rally

THREE THOUSAND persons in a "Little Summit" conference in San Francisco, on Friday and Saturday, May 13 and 14, gave the world's leaders a blueprint for successful negotiations.

Organized by various local peace groups, the conference overflowed seminar rooms at San Francisco State College on Friday night where these issues were discussed: Disarmament, the German Question, Economics of Disarmament and Reduction of Tensions. Discussions were resumed Saturday morning and resolutions were cabled to the Big Four in Paris.

A Peace March was held on Saturday afternoon from the Opera House, birthplace of the UN, to Union Square. About 3,000 persons marched. They carried signs reading: "Walk for Peace or Run for Your Lives," "A War of Ideas, Not a War of Nuclear Weapons" and "We Like the World, Let's Keep It."

At Union Square, sculptor Beniamino Bufano opened a meeting by reading St Francis' "Prayer for Peace."

Nobel laureate Dr. Linus Pauling said: "We are not wasting our time here this afternoon. We are going to succeed. We are going to liberate the world from war . . . because war has become insane."

SOUND AGREEMENTS: He added: "The nations of the world must make sound international agreements that will be kept and benefit all nations for all time. And these agreements are going to be made."

Albert Bigelow, skipper of the ketch "Golden Rule" who tried to halt U.S. nuclear tests in the Pacific, said that the peace demonstrators were a "swelling minority that no longer accepts the premise that the government is master of the people. Democracy is not a theory, it is a practice. Government is the servant of the people."

Physicist William Davidon said: "We can join the world community and grow with that community or prepare ourselves for extinction." He warned that resumption of tests would bring a "harvest of bitter regret."

The conference was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Marin County Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom, the World Affairs Committee of the Intl.-Interracial Commission (Baptist) as well as by prominent individuals. The group plans further actions.

Faced with broad opposition, it was hoped world leaders would agree in the end.

N. Y. peace rally

(Continued from Page 6)

He said "If we were let down in Paris, we cannot let up in New York." He called for (1) disarmament down to a police level ("You don't get disarmament by rearming Germany."); (2) strengthening the UN; (3) disengagement, and (4) a cooperative program against disease and poverty. He also proposed that every candidate for Congress from all parties be questioned on these issues.

Copies of a letter to Eisenhower, Khrushchev and UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold were circulated through the Garden for endorsement. It asked:

- The U.S., Britain and the U.S.S.R. to continue the Geneva talks until a treaty on a test ban is concluded.
- The Big Four and the UN to "guarantee the continuance" of the Ten-nation disarmament conference due to resume next month in Geneva.
- The UN to "institute procedures to end all types of aerial espionage such as the U.S. has engaged in with the U-2, and such as is possible with the satellites already launched by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."
- No nation to attempt to solve "international controversies over Berlin or elsewhere by rival ultimatums or force of arms."

Substantial portions of the speeches and entertainment and comments during the march will be broadcast in the New York area by FM station WBAI on Tuesday, June 14, at 9 p.m.

Signs in the Garden listed the next night's boxing attraction — "heavyweights." Most of the lightweights, it seemed, were in Washington.

Photo by Robert Joyce

Young and old alike marched down Broadway, across 42d Street to the United Nations. It was a beautiful night in New York.

British press

(Continued from Page 1)

door which Mr. K had opened" and "made it impossible for him to by-pass" the U-2 affair. On the same day its Moscow correspondent reported the belief of "observers in Western Embassies" there that Mr. K had "little choice but to move as he did." He continued:

"Some of the most respected students of the Soviet Union in Moscow's diplomatic colony are forecasting that there will be no major change in the broad outlines of policy at home or abroad. . . . The difficulty, the diplomats argue, was caused not so much by the flight or the capture of the plane, but by statements in the U.S., official and unofficial, that openly or implicitly challenged the Soviet Union's capability to defend its borders and skies. 'That thought may have given comfort to some people in the U.S.,' one diplomat said, 'but to challenge the very image of big Power equality that enabled Mr. K finally to think seriously of negotiation, what did they expect?' "

LOST WEEKEND: Daily press hysteria against Mr. K was muted down in the weeklies. The **Economist** recalled how before the Summit the West had "bit by bit circumscribed the meager room for maneuver" and "whittled away the thin chance of success," finally staging "demonstrative consultations with Dr. Adenauer" in Paris "while the East German government was actually refused visas for the observers whom, reasonably enough, it wanted to send."

The paper wanted to know "why Mr. Eisenhower's return visit to Mr. K could not have been made last autumn as Mr. Eisenhower at first intended," and why the Summit was "inordinately delayed, for reasons that are now seen to have been trivial."

It concluded that "the Summit was not wrecked in Paris" but in the preceding fortnight, and that "if the contention is accepted" that Mr. K "seized on the Powers case to break off at the Summit, then American policy in this period cannot be said to suggest any serious intention of stopping him." As for Ike's last-minute "clarification" about spy flights over the U.S.S.R., this was "held back until after Mr. K had demanded the impossible. This seems to have been deliberate American tactics during the lost weekend."

ILLUSION SHATTERED: The pro-nuclear disarmament **Tribune** and **New Statesman**, blaming Washington and Moscow almost equally, concluded that the only victors were the generals and extremists on both sides. From Canada, Dr. Donald Soper reported to **Tribune** that Washington's "positive orgy of public lying" had "shattered the pathetic illusion" there that "the Russians are prone to lie whereas the Americans stick to the truth."

From Paris Emrys Hughes, MP, referring to the Americans' "string of lies which the whole world knew to be a string of lies," recalled in **Tribune** that the British government had rejected MPs' demands for assurances that planes would not fly from Britain over the U.S.S.R. Macmillan in Paris "hoped the conference would not meet under the threat of the continuation of these overflights," but had refused to state that they wouldn't continue. "Some of the questions being asked in Paris," Hughes wrote, were: "How could Mr. K survive if his critics at home were to charge him with carrying out a policy of appeasement of America? . . . What has Mr. K got for his attempts to agree to total disarmament? The answer is the U-2."

FUEL ON THE FIRE: Hugh Gaitskell and Labor's right-wing leaders were hoping that the Summit fiasco and new wave of anti-Soviet propaganda would strengthen their hand against the nuclear disarmament forces in the party. These hopes did not seem well founded, but the coming-up conference of Gaitskell's own union, the General & Municipal Workers, would probably tell the story.

Last year this union voted for unilateral nuclear disarmament but was dragooned by right-wing leaders into reversing itself. This year the appeal to back Labor's pro-NATO policy will be made by Gaitskell himself. The latest Gallup Poll (May 16) shows public support of British nuclear disarmament as having grown from 26 to 33%, making the nuclear disarmers "the biggest single sector of public opinion." Support since the last Aldermaston march has grown from 30 to 41% among Laborites, and to nearly 25% among Tory voters.

After Paris, Ike found an easy way to throw more fuel on the "new 'Yanks Go Home' " fire—by heading for the NATO police state, Portugal, to announce that "the allies are joined even closer than before in determined pursuit of peace and justice." Even the strongest political stomachs here are beginning to gag on such American super-hypocrisies since the U-2 incident. As the statesmen disbanded in Paris, the "man in the pub" read reports of Secy. Herter's boasts before the NATO Ministerial Council regarding the immense value of U.S. spy flights over Soviet territory. His failure to mention Ike's "promise" to stop them was duly noted.

NEW YORK

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BOOKS

High cost of dying

PROF. LEROY BOWMAN, a former teacher at Brooklyn College, helped work his way through college by assisting an undertaker, and so at an early age was laying the foundation in first-hand experience for the writing of this unique book.* There have been a number of studies on various special aspects of funeral customs in the United States, but so far as I know this is the first volume that offers an objective, over-all analysis of the personal, psychological, community and economic factors involved in American funeral rituals.

The American Funeral is an invaluable reference book for all those who are concerned over the high cost of dying and who wish to see more reasonable, dignified and meaningful attitudes developed to meet the crisis of death. Prof. Bowman devotes five fact-filled chapters to the function of the undertaker or "funeral director," as he prefers to be called. All of us know that financial exploitation prevails to an enormous degree in this realm of business and that the slogan of undertakers only too often is: "Get the money while the tears are flowing."

ALTHOUGH I AGREE that guilt feelings are important in the general extravagance characteristic of American funerals, I think that perhaps the author goes too far when he says that the sense of guilt is "the most powerful as well as the most universal force playing on the family at the time it meets the funeral director."

Especially valuable for the average reader should be the chapters showing how recent cultural changes and the growth of urban civilization have affected funeral practices. One favorable development in city life has been an increasing reliance on cremation. This "serves to redress the imbalance of bargaining power between undertaker and customer" by counteracting the emphasis on the body, the need for embalming, and the lavish expenses for a casket and other "funeral goods."

In his last chapter Prof. Bowman discusses the more philosophic aspects of death and outlines the essential elements of the ideal funeral. He is insistent that at the service the life of the deceased individual be interpreted in social, ethical and spiritual terms. This not only does justice to the memory of the dead person, but also induces the living mourners to re-evaluate their own lives and the ultimate ends for which they are striving. It gives to the funeral ceremony its highest social significance; and it is precisely here where most funerals in the orthodox religious tradition are conspicuously lacking. I have found that the more secular, the more humanistic, a funeral service is, the more meaningful it usually is from a social viewpoint.

THE AUTHOR also provides interesting information about cooperative funeral associations, which effect great savings for their members, and the possibility of municipal funeral authorities in large cities which would do the same. One of the best cooperative associations, to which I myself happen to belong, is the Community Funeral Society of New York City at 40 E. 35th St.

Prof. Bowman adds useful appendices on "Cremation," "Directions for the Gift of the Body to a Medical School," and "Instructions for the Donation of Eyes to the Eye-Bank for Sight Restoration." Not everybody knows that the corneal tissue of someone who has just died can, if removed promptly, be surgically transplanted to restore sight to a living person who is blind because of corneal defect. The address of the Eye-Bank in New York is 210 E. 64th St.

—**Corliss Lamont**

**THE AMERICAN FUNERAL: A Study In Guilt Extravagance and Sublimity, by LeRoy Bowman. Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D.C. 181 pp. $4.50.*

Townsend, In Transit, Washington D.C.
"Wait! Don't close that coffin yet! He forgot to file an accident report!"

How to make your Mark

IN THE FALL of 1957, a high-priced call girl named Rosemarie Nitribitt was found strangled in her luxurious apartment in Frankfurt. That fact in itself was hardly sensational, but Rosemarie's career was. Here was a girl of the slums, unlettered and not especially beautiful, who had risen to the top of her profession in a rocket-like rise which paralleled the West German "economic miracle." As a matter of fact, she was precisely a part of that miracle.

In a sardonic novel* which has something of the mood and tempo of a Bertolt Brecht opera, a West German newspaperman named Erich Kuby has set down a story which so closely resembles Rosemarie's career that a lot of highly-placed Germans—including some in the Bonn government—were most unhappy about it. Nor did they love the movie (same name) based on Rosemarie's brief life and her death which won a prize at the Venice Film Festival in 1958 and is in its fifth month at a New York movie house.

WHY WAS EVERYONE so upset over the murder? Why (as was reported) did two financiers kill themselves and other businessmen sell out and emigrate abroad? How come Scotland Yard and Interpol (the international police agency) were called in?

Well, the reason was that Rosemarie, who used to tour Frankfurt in a $10,000 Mercedes-Benz roadster with scarlet leather upholstery, had caught the get-rich-quick fever too thoroughly. Thus she became a menace to her colleagues in the business world.

You see, Rosemarie was a good listener, and some of her well-heeled customers just loved to talk business on the couch. So a couple of them devised the idea of wiring Rosemarie (or at least her couch) for sound, and to make tape recordings to get a line on their competitors. Strictly business. Then the government put a tap on the tap, and things got out of hand—especially when it was discovered that Rosemarie, a Teutonic bookkeeper if there ever was one, kept the strictest accounts with names, dates, payments, etc.

IF ROSEMARIE had stuck to her knitting, she might still be alive and practicing. But her life came unraveled when she let herself be used (at a splendid price) in the cut-throat competition for the Almighty Mark.

Kuby's book dispassionately parades the competitors in and out of Rosemarie's flat—and the lineup is no prettier than the gross reality of West Germany today.

One concludes, without great perception, that Rosemarie and her clients were all in the same profession. And the real miracle is that not more of them are dead of sheer gluttony.

—**J.A.**

**ROSEMARIE, by Erich Kuby. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 239 pp. $3.75.*

Eccles, London Daily Worker
"A flock of geese on that and we'll all be dead ducks!"

OUR OWN UNDERGROUND

A look at life on Level 7

THIS SKILLFUL—and shocking—novel* depicts humanity gone underground in advance of an atomic catastrophe. The generals and politicians, convinced of the inevitability of war, build a system of underground life for humanity; the deeper down, the safer you are; the quicker you forget sunshine and rain and trees, the better you will adapt.

Level 7 is the most important of these underground systems. Buried 4,400 feet down, equipped with a good food and air supply to last 500 years. Level 7 houses the most important persons in the atomic insanity: the button-pushers. (They are assured of course, that they will only respond to danger).

The generals and politicians plan well: Level 6, for "defense," houses the rocket-senders. Levels 5-3 are for humanity's "elite"—themselves. And at subway level, where he always was, is the ordinary citizen.

Level 7 is supposedly impregnable and absolutely safe from radiation poisoning. At least, this is what the anonymous voice on the loudspeaker says to quiet the stirring of a conscience or the longing to see the sun again.

But no one is safe, even on Level 7. Here, in this book, is the documentation of insanity: where the saving of life is the delaying of death. "There's No Hidin' Place Down Here," said the Negro spiritual—not even 4,400 feet down.

—**Dorothy Miller**

**LEVEL 7, by Mordecai Roshwald, McGraw-Hill, 330 W. 42nd St., New York 36. 186 pp. $3.75.*

C.D. protest rally in N.Y.

JAMES WECHSLER, N.Y. **Post** editor, and Norman Thomas will speak May 26 on the right to protest New York's compulsory Civil Defense law; 8:15 p.m., Community Church, 40 E. 35th St.

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Cleveland 12, Ohio

The great debate

(Continued from Page 1)

might increase tension," and urged the Big Four to resume negotiations as soon as possible to reach at least agreements on nuclear test suspension and the first steps to disarmament.

For his part Premier Khrushchev in Berlin indicated faith in future negotiations, and urged patience until the next Summit meeting for a solution of West Berlin's status.

WASHINGTON DILEMMA: But the atmosphere was far from calm in the United States.

In dictator Salazar's Portugal, press secretary James Hagerty said, Eisenhower felt it was "nice to come to a place where you have friends and allies."

Summit failure placed American politicians in a dilemma: whether to close ranks behind the Administration and hide its errors behind a barrage of attacks on Moscow or soberly to locate the causes of the errors and eliminate them.

Through the din of Congressional and press denunciation of Khrushchev and of Soviet policy, a few voices of reason were audible. Economist and financier James P. Warburg, in a letter to the New York **Times** (May 20), posed a series of questions regarding obstacles Washington had placed on the Summit road (see Report to Readers, p. 2).

SELF-SCRUTINY: The U.S. press in general complacently took at face value the public support Western allies gave Eisenhower; but the **Times'** James Reston wrote from Paris (May 22) that only "courageous self-scrutiny" and "sound concepts and policies" formulated in the crucible of "responsible critical opinion" could help the U.S. regain "the full confidence of our allies, which must have been more seriously impaired than they have cared in the circumstances to reveal."

Columnist Walter Lippmann, while noting the allies' sympathy for the President, warned against "illusions about the depth of the loss of confidence in American leadership." He said that blindly rallying "around the President . . . would prove to the world that the blunders will not be corrected but will be continued."

Declaring that "it is the dissenters and the critics and the opposition who can restore the world's respect for American competence," Lippmann described what has to be done: "This is to investigate, to criticize, to debate, and then to demonstrate to the people and to the world that the lessons of the Summit fiasco have been learned and will be applied."

SECOND THOUGHTS: After the first rush to close ranks behind the President, some Democrats had second thoughts. On May 19, **Adlai Stevenson** urged investigation of and debate on the Summit fiasco. He said: "It is the duty of responsible

Herblock, Washington Post
"Some of our statecraft is missing."

opposition in a democracy to express and criticize carelessness and mistakes, especially in a case of such national and world importance as this one." Next day, 30 House Democrats sent a letter to the President, asking eight pointed questions on the whole U-2 flight episode.

On May 22, an organization called the Liberal Project released a new foreign policy report, containing a program it hoped would replace the present "sterile" one.

The history of the Summit failure suggests that, after last September's Camp David talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, opponents of East-West relaxation of tension began to muster their forces. Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer and de Gaulle succeeded in delaying the Summit meeting; Secy. of State Herter and Under Secy. Dillon publicly took an unyielding position on West Berlin; and the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission blocked a Geneva agreement on a nuclear test ban, making it clear, as Norman Cousins said (**Saturday Review,** May 21), that "they are opposed to any program of disarmament—**even if we could get** the Russians to agree to everything we asked."

LUSTER LOST: Then came indications that in the face of the delaying tactics and the roadblocks thrown up by the Pentagon and the AEC, the Camp David glow was losing its luster for the President. Eisenhower showed his decreasing interest in the Summit meeting by first suggesting that Vice President Nixon might sit in for him, and then insisting he would go on to Portugal if the conference lasted over a week.

The climax came with the shooting down of the U-2 in the Soviet Union, and Eisenhower's and Defense Secy. Gates' incredible decision to "stage a worldwide readiness exercise" the day before the Summit meeting was to open in Paris. Both the U-2 flight and the readiness exercise were justified on the implausible ground of preventing a "surprise attack" by the Soviet Union.

Yet in the May issue of **Army,** the organ of the Assn. of the U.S. Army, Malcolm Macintosh said in an article that he found no evidence of Moscow preparing a surprise attack. Macintosh is a leading British authority on Soviet military strategy; he lectured before the U.S. Air War College last January. And the **U.S. Army Information Digest** (June, 1960) said: "Moscow does not appear to be . . . developing military might capable of eliminating by a first strike the ability of the West to retaliate." On the readiness exercise, Lippmann said:

"If the alert was concerned with a possible surprise attack, when in the name of common sense could there be less danger of a surprise attack on the Western world than when Mr. K in person was in Paris?"

MISPLACED POWER: Many observers agreed with the London **Reynolds News** (May 16) that, since "spying planes could be carrying nuclear bombs just as easily as cameras . . . the world could be plunged into a 'surprise' nuclear war by the very methods the American government claims are necessary to prevent surprise."

Investigation and debate might disclose that neutrals and allies alike are appalled by the evidence of power wielded in Washington by the Pentagon, the AEC and John Foster's brother Allen Dulles. The **New Republic** noted (May 16) that "the levers of power [in the U.S.] are in the hands of a few, and those few are only remotely accountable to the people"; and they wonder "whether this country can be trusted with the terrifying tools of the nuclear age; [they] have been given a preview of the nightmare of a war being accidentally triggered by a blundering lieutenant."

Warburg's Liberal Project report has proposed a nuclear test ban; a long-range disarmament and world economic cooperation program; a neutral zone in Central Europe and negotiations between East and West Germany for German reunification "without outside interference of any sort"; and recognition of China by the U.S. and the UN.

Only such a program of gradual disarmament, withdrawal from friction points, acceptance of the principle of co-existence and worldwide economic cooperation without strings can demonstrate a genuine change in Washington.

De Gaulle's role at the Summit

From Paris, the GUARDIAN's Anne Bauer wrote in a dispatch delayed in the mail:

THE QUESTIONS about the three fatal days in Paris boil down to a few basic ones: After the U-2 incident and the White House and State Dept. blunders that sowed the seed of the Summit failure, where was the point of no return, after which nothing could save the conference?

It came on Sunday morning, May 15, when, on a first visit to de Gaulle, Khrushchev made known his preliminary conditions. De Gaulle thus was the first Western leader to hear the conditions and he concluded that Eisenhower would not easily give in. He decided to do nothing to persuade him to do so. Rather, from then on, he determined to stay aloof and not involve himself in an enterprise which, as he saw it, had no chance of success.

One of President Eisenhower's advisers said later that with another man than de Gaulle as head of the French government, supporting Macmillan's conciliation efforts, Eisenhower might have met the Soviet premier half way.

Highlander School plans integrated 'Youth Project'

MYLES HORTON, Director of Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., announced last week that one of the members of the Highlander Youth Project will be Minerva Brown, a leader in the high school student sit-ins in Charleston, South Carolina.

The Youth Project, July 6 to Aug. 16, is an experiment in inter-cultural living designed to help Negro and white high school students prepare for entering integrated colleges. Thirty students will be brought together for the experience of day-to-day living, with opportunities for individual creative development and expression.

Prof. Lewis Jones, director of Social Science Research at Tuskegee Institute, is advisor for the project which will be directed by Prof. Ewell Reagin, director of Student Religious Activities at Cornell University, and Miss Anne Lockwood of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago.

"Preparation for integrated living must be carefully planned for if it is to be meaningful to Negro and white young people," Horton said. "We look on the Youth Project as an important service in this kind of preparation."

PUBLICATIONS

MY TRIP AROUND THE WORLD
By
CORLISS LAMONT

In this new pamphlet Dr. Lamont presents a Humanist philosopher's refreshingly unorthodox impressions of the British Labor Party . . . English college gardens . . . Art treasures of Florence and Athens . . . Soviet postwar recovery . . . Teatime at a Soviet collective farm . . . Cow worship in India . . . Poverty and India's Five-Year Plans . . . Hiroshima: After-effects of the A-bomb . . . World peace and human brotherhood.

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Joseph Rapoport birthday in Petaluma, Cal., June 4

A CELEBRATION honoring the 60th birthday of Joseph Rapoport will be held on Saturday, June 4, at 8 p.m. at the Petaluma Women's Club, 518 B St., Petaluma, Calif. The program will feature Bari Rolfe, Mexican dance specialist, and Irene Paull, short story writer. Folk dancing will be directed by Mae Schwartz.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

SOVIET FILMS See & Discuss: Thurs., Fri., Sat., June 2, 3, 4, Gogol's "The Inspector General"; Thurs., Fri., Sat., June 9, 10, 11, "The Forty-First" (Cannes prize winner in magnificent color). Cross World Books, 333 S. Wacker Dr. (nr. Van Buren). 5th floor. 8:15 p.m. $1, students 60c. HA 7-1042.

MIDWEST CONFERENCE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN—Sun., June 5, 1 to 5 p.m.; banquet ($2 plate) at 6 p.m., Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. **RUSS NIXON,** guest speaker. Call DE 2-3835 for reservations.

DETROIT

MYRA TANNER WEISS, Socialist Workers candidate for Vice President, reports on tour, "The South's Message to the North." Fri., June 3, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

DENVER

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION
—As I Saw It—
by **FARRELL DOBBS**
Socialist Workers Party
Presidential Candidate
in the 1960 elections
Denver Labor Center, Room 3
360 Acoma
Wed., June 1st, 8 p.m.
Don. 50c Ausp: SWP

LOS ANGELES

Testimonial Dinner National Lawyers Guild honoring charter member **J. ALLAN FRANKEL,** Fri., June 3rd, Biltmore Hotel. $12.50 plate. For reservations phone: Hollywood 9-4114.

The Sociological Imagination
Lecture No. 2 on
The World & Works of C. Wright Mills
Socialist writer and lecturer
1. Are Liberalism & Marxism outmoded?
2. What should be the basis for present day social science?
Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St., Fri., June 3, 8:15 p.m. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.
Don: 75c, unemployed 25c.
Questions, discussion, refreshments.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AS I SAW IT
Farrell Dobbs, eyewitness reporter and Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, speaks 8:30 p.m. Sat., June 4, 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

BOSTON

You are invited to hear
GUS HALL, Gen. Secy., Communist Party speak on **THE 1960 ELECTIONS.** Time: Sat., June 4, 8 p.m. Place: Bradford Hotel. Admission Free. Sponsor: Mass. Labor Forum, Lew Johnson, Chairman.

NEW YORK

Wed., Thurs., Fri., June 1, 2, 3
TWO RUSSIAN FILMS w. Eng. titles, in color; Maxim Gorky's **"MOTHER"** plus "Youth Holiday in Moscow."
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Say Farewell to Fighting Santiago Family at a testimonial given on Fri., June 3, 8:30 p.m., at Hotel Lucerne, 201 W. 79 St. (off B'way). Speakers from various organizations who supported the campaign. Join the fight to repeal Walter-McCarran Act.

6th Annual All-Nations Picnic SUN., JUNE 26, Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J. International menu, games, swimming, entertainment. Adm. $1, children free. Tickets, reservations, Am. Comm. Prot. For. Born, 49 E. 21st St., NYC. OR 4-5058

FRANK WILKINSON
civil liberties leader,
will give an eyewitness report on
"WHAT HAPPENED WHEN THE UN-AMERICANS CAME TO SAN FRANCISCO"
Fri., June 3 8 p.m.
Watch this space next week for further details.
Ausp: Youth Against the Un-American Committee.

METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB MEETS!
FRIDAY JUNE 3 8:45 p.m.
Speaker: **DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN**
ADELPHI HALL 74 5th Av. Rm 11 D

"THE POST-SUMMIT WORLD AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE"
An analysis by **ROBERT CHESTER,** contributor to The Militant & International Socialist Review. Fri., June 3, 8:30 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 116 Univ. Pl. Cont. 50c.

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THE GALLERY

A PRESIDENTIAL IMAGE POLL conducted pre-U-2 by the Inst. for Motivational Research showed that the man most Americans really want as President is Nikita Khrushchev. "This is not psychological capitulation to the Soviet Union," Institute director Dr. Ernest Dichter said. "It is instead a delayed and positive reaction to the Khrushchev visit to the U.S.—more important—to Khrushchev the man. He presents the clear image of a robust, strong-willed, human, 'real' leader."

Of the more likely candidates, this is how their images shaped up in the survey:

Richard Nixon: Older brother image. Helps provide for the whole family and dominates everyone in it without getting really close to people. He'd make a better businessman than President, but you wouldn't want to do business with him because he might not play fair.

John F. Kennedy: Younger brother or son image. Youth, vigor, good looks, education, pretty wife—all positive. But he seems like a rich playboy who has had everything handed to him. He's got time to wait to be President.

Stuart Symington: Father or uncle image. Smooth, sophisticated and socially acceptable. Good behind-the-scenes manipulator. Flexible enough to be influenced.

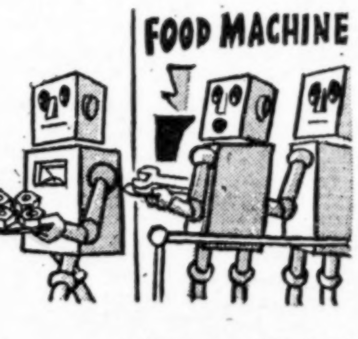
Adlai E. Stevenson: Father image. Intelligent, competent but a little pompous. Seems a little shop-worn.

Lyndon B. Johnson: Dutch uncle image. Bossy, always up to something. Least clear of all images.

Hubert H. Humphrey: Lovable windbag. Honest, idealistic but a bit of a blow-hard. Appears to be both a common man and a political boss.

Nelson Rockefeller: Fuzzy image. No snob despite his money. Seems too unseasoned for job, maybe in 1964.

A CANDIDATE for a John Foster Dulles Memorial Award is this story from the New York **Times,** May 14, announcing the engagement of a Louisville couple: "The future bride, born in Peking (now Peiping)***" . . . A man shouting "Jesus, here I come. If birds can fly, I can too," jumped from a movie balcony into the lap of a woman in the orchestra in Beaufort, N.C. Later when police arrested him for public drunkenness, he explained: "The spirit moved me." The movie playing was "The Ten Commandments." . . . Mrs. Ethel Cross of West Bromwich, England, was rather cross after she was locked in overnight in the men's room at a soccer stadium. She is suing the stadium for $22.40 to repay her husband, three sons and a daughter-in-law for wages they lost while hunting for her during the 16 hours she was locked in the toilet when the coin slot jammed the door. Mrs. Cross did not say how she happened to be in the men's room . . . . Dr. Michael O'Riordan of Westcliff, England, called police when his six-year-old son, Timothy, disappeared. Constables found Tiny Tim an hour later asleep in a dresser drawer . . . . Before Judge Frank W. Tomasello sentenced Mrs. Ethel Burman to an indeterminate jail term for participating in a teen-age sex club in Worcester, Mass., her lawyer pleaded for leniency on the ground that she had once turned down an invitation to join the Communist Party.



Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Oh him! He only eats nuts—he's a vegetarian."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S golf club, the Augusta National Club in Georgia, does not have any Jews among its members, according to the London **Sunday Express.** Club president Bobby Jones, former golf champion, told the **Express:** "The club had never had any restrictions about Jews. You see we do not take applications; membership is by invitation only. No Jews have ever been invited to join." In answer to whether President Eisenhower was aware of the situation, Jones said: "I don't know. In any case, our policy is nobody's business but ours. We are not going to invite Jews or anybody else just because somebody says we ought to. We reserve our rights as a private club to invite who we wish." As a "footnote" to the story, the **Express** noted that a group of Americans headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice William O. Douglas, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Thurgood Marshall called for an end to discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union . . . . Harry Golden in his **Carolina Israelite** reported that one Charlotte dime store has "solved" the sit-in protest problem: "As the white customer strolls through the store, a loudspeaker announces that patrons who want food service have only to ask for the top of the stool. The food counter is surrounded by what looks like a row of enamelled palings. On closer inspection, you realize these are the counter stools with their seats taken off. If you want a hot dog, you go up to the counter and ask a waitress for your seat, she hands it to you and you screw it on and sit down. But you've got to screw it on and sit down pretty quick, before some colored student sidles in ahead of you. As you consume your food, the waitress hovers over you to make sure you unscrew the seat and give it back to her. It sounds like a joke, or a Golden Plan to aid the Distress of the White Supremacists, but it is neither. It is happening right here in my own home town." . . . The title of the church sermon President Eisenhower listened to on the Sunday after he returned from the Summit flop was "Why worry?"

—Robert E. Light

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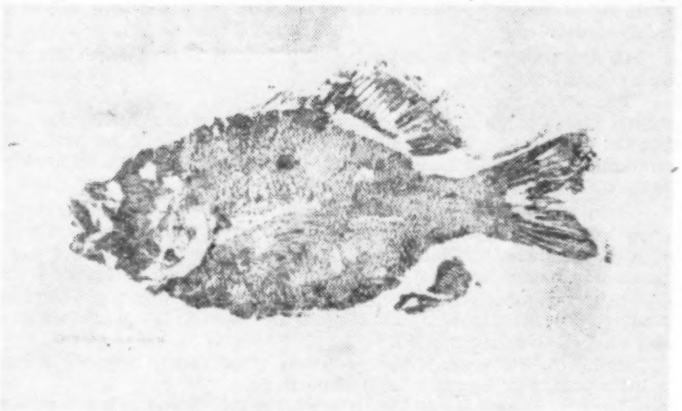

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The distorted image

SEVEN MONTHS AGO I WENT all the way with Mr. K on his tour of the United States. This trip I got no further than the television set. But I saw plenty and heard plenty and, when I turned the damned thing off, I read plenty more into the early hours. In the jumble of thoughts and impressions that followed the tumultuous events of the third week of May, I tried to sort out my feelings about the Aborted Summit, and especially about the press and radio-TV coverage of it. But before I put anything down, I thought I ought to look back to what I had said about the coverage of Mr. K's U.S. tour. I found this in the GUARDIAN of Oct. 5, 1959:

"For this observer, perhaps the most appalling aspect of the tour with Mr. K has been an appreciation of the extent to which the people who write and shape news and opinion in America have brainwashed themselves into frozen attitudes. This goes for press, radio and the commentators on television . . . While it is absurd to suggest that newspapermen are and must be "objective" at all times (we too are human), too many of the reporters on the trip went out of their way to apply preconceived prejudices to the story and to present a distorted image to affect public opinion adversely—which is to say, in the interest of maintaining the cold war."

Even as I wrote that, I recall now, buoyed up by the excitement and the positive feeling about the trip, I wondered if I were not being a bit hard. After last week, I wonder if I was hard enough.

IN THE TORRENT OF WORDS and talk these last days, there seemed to be almost a sense of relief on the part of men who write and shape the news that the cold war was back on the tracks. Behind the synthetic concern and the heavy-handed expressions of regret, there was a licking of the chops which came out smackingly in the description of the Soviet premier. He was a bully and a boor, a ranting and raving madman, a coldly calculating dictator, a ham vaudeville actor, a blunderer, a pig and a rat, a man who was in the power of the still powerful Stalinists in the Kremlin, and an uncontrollable man who made even his (sinister) defense minister at his elbow squirm with anxiety. Take your pick. It all came gushing out, one adjective more purple than its lurid cousin.

If there were any attempt to analyze on TV and radio what the Soviet Premier actually had said, we didn't catch it. The whole pack had turned into a collegium of capsule psychoanalysts, all trying to pin down the man who wouldn't stay put on their couch.

PERHAPS MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S ANGER made even sympathetic people squirm (it is doubtful that he charmed the cat lovers of the world with his anecdote about bashing a cat's head against a wall). And for those who feel that the immediate incidents were not enough to explain it, perhaps an attempt is in order to determine why he let go at that famous press conference on May 18. Once again I went back seven months to recall my first-hand impressions of Mr. K:

"He is the new Soviet man—the man we used to read about being in the making, but whom we never got to see. Rather he is the bridge between the old Bolsheviks and the new Soviet man. Unlike the newer generation he does not have the formal schooling and the remarkable knowledge they demonstrate, but he has the shrewdness, the wit and the pride of the self-made man who learned the hard way . . . With his old colleagues and his younger ones he shares one thing in common: a pride in the accomplishments of the revolution and an insistence that he—not for himself, but as the representative of his country—be treated as an equal."

When the President decreed that the Soviet Union lacked sovereignty within its own borders, it insulted not Mr. Khrushchev alone, but all the people of the Soviet Union. In that vein Max Frankel wrote to the New York **Times** from Moscow on May 18:

"Many Western observers here believe that the imperatives of Soviet politics left Premier Khrushchev little choice but to move as he did. [These imperatives] derive, it is thought, from the Kremlin's deeply felt need to be recognized as an equal of the United States before there can be any attempt at specific compromise at the bargaining table."

There it is—straight and simple. But it was too much for the **Times** which took it on itself, without any proof, to suggest that Frankel's dispatch had been censored. (Frankel's dispatch also appeared in the London **Daily Telegraph,** which gave no hint that censorship might have held something back.) But without question, a few days later, the **Times** bestowed the badge of equality on the dictator of Portugal, into whose arms the mindless President fled for consolation after the judgment of Paris. (It was Salazar who once said: "I believe democracy is a fiction. I do not believe in universal suffrage. I do not believe in equality [among men] but in hierarchy."

SOME DAY A FULL AND PENETRATING study of journalism in the United States will be written. In the chapter on the Aborted Summit, questions may be raised as to why the press said not a word about the possible effects on the Paris failure of President de Gaulle's monkey wrench (made in West Germany) which stalled the Summit long past the break-even point; and of the unctuous regrets of Prime Minister Macmillan whose interest in the Summit after the Tory election victory diminished perceptibly.

But a whole chapter must be reserved for the story of how the cynical journalistic fraternity—in one of the colossal frauds of our time—took a West Point automaton with a big grin and fashioned him in the image of a great leader.

—**James Aronson**

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